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OCCUPATIONAL GOALS, EXPECTATIONS, AND ANTICIPATORY GOAL DEFLECTION EXPERIENCED BY NEGRO GIRLS RESIDING IN LOW-INCOME RURAL AND URBAN PLACES.

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RESEARCH WAS CONDUCTED TO DETERMINE THE OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS, EXPECTATIONS, AND ANTICIPATORY GOAL DEFLECTION EXPERIENCED BY NEGRO FEMALES RESIDING IN LOW INCOME RURAL AND URBAN AREAS. TWO OPEN END QUESTIONS WERE USED TO OBTAIN RESPONSE MODES THAT WOULD SERVE AS INDICATORS OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS. THE RESPONSE MODES WERE CODED IN A RANK HIERARCHY USING A MODIFIED VERSION OF THE CENSUS SCHEME. FINDINGS INDICATED MARKED SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF RURAL AND URBAN NEGRO FEMALES. BOTH GROUPS DESIRED HIGH PRESTIGE TYPES OF PROFESSIONAL AND SEMIPROFESSIONAL POSITIONS. THE ONLY NOTEWORTHY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO RURAL AND URBAN GROUPS WAS THAT PROPORTIONATELY MORE URBAN FEMALES HELD HIGH ASPIRATIONS. AS CONCERNS EXPECTATIONS COMPARED TO ASPIRATIONS, THE MAJORITY OF BOTH GROUPS ANTICIPATED ATTAINMENT OF WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS AND HIGH PRESTIGE POSITIONS. NO EXTREME DIFFERENCES WERE OBSERVED BETWEEN THE TWO GROUPS IN ANTICIPATORY DEFLECTION. IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY INDICATE THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT PREVAILING IN OUR AMERICAN CULTURE RESULTS IN HIGH SUCCESS ASPIRATIONS. OTHER IMPLICATIONS MENTIONED WERE THAT RURAL YOUTH HAVE LOWER ASPIRATIONS THAN URBAN YOUTH AND BOTH GROUPS HAVE UNREALISTICALLY HIGH OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS WHICH SHOULD BE MODIFIED. AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SAMPLES OF THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS CONCLUDE THE REPORT. (JS)

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# OCCUPATIONAL GOALS, EXPECTATIONS, AND ANTICIPATORY GOAL DEFLECTION EXPERIENCED BY NEGRO GIRLS RESIDING IN LOW-INCOME RURAL AND URBAN PLACES*

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## The Problem

More than a decade ago Robert Merton proposed that a characteristic of our society is widespread inculcation of high success goals.[1] This proposition served as the keystone for his widely recognized theory of "social structure and anomie." A thorough review of the large quantity of research findings accumulated on occupational aspirations of American youth indicates support for Merton's contention.[2] These data consistently indicate that youth's goals are extremely high relative to probable opportunities existing in the occupational structure.[3] At the same time many of these studies have found that occupational goal and expectation levels vary in relationship to a number of different variables, including place of residence.[4]

Also more than a decade ago, Lipset, trying to explain why rural migrants were disadvantaged in urban occupational mobility, suggested that rural youth had lower aspirations than urban reared youth.[5] This proposition stimulated a large number of studies focusing on rural and urban comparisons of occupational status orientations. These studies almost unanimously support Lipset's original contention.[6] However, a careful review of this research indicates that virtually all these studies presumably focused on white respondents.[7]

Only one prior study has been located which explicitly focused on differences between the occupational status orientations of Negro rural and urban youth - a Florida study reported by Middleton and Grigg eight years ago.[8] These researchers concluded that there were no significant differences between the occupational aspirations of their rural and urban

Negro respondents, either for boys or girls. Even though Middleton and Grigg's conclusions contradict the mass of findings accumulated about white youth, there has apparently been no further attempt to test the general validity of Lipset's contention as it pertains to Negro youth. Consequently, there is an obvious need to find out more about the nature of occupational status orientations held by rural and urban Negro youth.

A recent Texas study of high school sophomores provides us with an opportunity to help meet the above-mentioned need.[9] We recently presented a paper reporting a comparative analysis of the occupational status orientations held by rural and urban Negro boys participating in this study.[10] The broad purpose of this paper is to report the findings from a parallel analysis on Negro females from this same study.

## Framework

Past research on occupational orientations has demonstrated that it is useful to distinguish between two types of future-oriented behavior, or status projections, held by youth - aspiration and expectation.[11] Aspiration refers to the desire for attainment of a particular status (goal). Expectation refers to a related but qualitatively different idea - the anticipation of attaining a particular status whether it is desired or not. Failure to carefully distinguish between these two ideas in past research has resulted in confusion and misinterpretation of findings.[12]

Several studies have examined both types of status orientations simultaneously for the same respondents. In almost all such studies these two phenomena were treated as separate variables.[13] We have proposed in several recent efforts that it would be useful to view the relationship of goals to expectations as an analytically distinct element of occupational status orientations. Assuming that expected status, if it differs from the status goal indicated, represents a modification of the goal in light of perceived limiting conditions, we labeled this relational concept anticipatory goal deflection.[14]

We used the conceptual tools described above as the basis for our investigation of the occupational orientations of rural and urban Negro girls. The specific objectives of our analysis were to explore, within the context of our data, the extent and nature of rural-urban differences among Negro girls in reference to occupational goals, expectations, and anticipatory deflection from goals.

## Review of Relevant Research

Only one report was found giving a comparative analysis of rural and urban Negro girls occupational status orientations. This previously cited study, by Middleton and Grigg, reported a lack of significant differences between the two residence groupings on what they called "aspirations" but what were judged by us to be expectations. Whatever the case, inadequacies of their measurements lead us to question the validity of their conclusion.[15] There is no other reported study providing a similar comparison on either occupational goals or anticipatory deflection from goals as far as we can determine.

A review of the few studies on occupational orientations of rural or urban Negro girls studied separately indicates that both generally hold high goals and expectations.[16] A few of these included comparisons of goal and expectation levels, demonstrating that anticipatory deflection was experienced by a substantial minority of both rural and urban females.[17] One recent North Carolina study of nonmetropolitan youth indicates a very high rate of anticipatory deflection, over 40 percent, for Negro girls.[18] This same study reports that most of the deflection experienced by these girls was negative (expectations were lower than goals).

A review of the few studies making rural-urban comparisons for white girls on occupational orientations indicated, with one exception, that urban girls had higher occupational aspirations or expectations than rural girls and the remaining one reported a lack of significant differences.[19] This is consistent with what has generally been observed for white boys and with what we observed from our earlier comparative analysis of rural and urban Negro boys.[20]

## The Texas Study

### Source and Collection of Data

The data on rural Negroes were obtained from a study of high school sophomores in three extremely rural East Central Texas counties.[21] All three counties had disproportionately high numbers of Negroes and low-income families as compared with Texas as a whole. In order to obtain a comparable urban grouping for comparison, a fifty percent sample was

taken of all sophomore homerooms in a Negro high school, drawing students from a low-income ward in Houston. The data were obtained during April and May of 1966. Data was available for 99 rural and 170 urban girls.

## Indicators and Measurements*

Two open-end questions were used to obtain responses that would serve as indicators of occupational goals and expectations. The responses to both of these questions were coded in a rank hierarchy using a modified version of the Census scheme.[22]

The categories used are as follows:

1. High Professional
2. Low Professional
3. Glamour
4. Owner, Manager, Official
5. Clerical and Sales
6. Skilled (craftsman and foreman)
7. Operatives
8. Unskilled (laborer)
9. Housewife
10. No Information or "don't know"

Anticipatory deflection was determined by simply comparing the measures of goal and expectation statuses. If they were incongruent, anticipatory deflection was considered to exist. Positive deflection was judged to exist if expectation had a higher rank than goal. Negative deflection was assumed to exist if aspiration had the higher rank order.[23]

*See appendix for instruments used to elicit goals and expectations.

## Findings

### Goals

We observed marked similarities between the occupational goals of rural and urban Negro females. Both groupings generally desired high prestige types of white-collar employment, particularly professional and semiprofessional positions of moderate prestige, Table 1. Three white-collar categories - low professional, sales-clerical, and high professional - accounted for almost 90 percent of urban girls and over 70 percent of rural girls. What is more, the rural and urban girls desired these three types of goals at similar rates as follows: about one-half desired to become low prestige professionals, about a quarter aspired to sales-clerical jobs, and almost one-tenth wanted to attain high prestige professional positions. Other general similarities were that no respondent aspired to be a housewife and very few rural or urban girls desired either nonskilled blue-collar jobs or managerial positions.

The most significant differences in the detailed goal profiles of rural and urban respondents were that urban girls desired low prestige professional positions to a somewhat greater extent and skilled blue-collar work to a much lower extent than their rural counterparts.

Viewing the goal responses in two broad dichotomous classes, white collar and blue collar, amplifies the observation that almost all girls of both residence groupings desired white-collar employment, Table 1. This perspective also highlights the most marked difference between the two groupings - five times as many rural girls as urban girls aspired to blue-collar work.

Table 1. A Comparison of Rural and Urban Negro Girls' Occupational Goals

| Goal | Respondents: Rural (N=99) | Respondents: Urban (N=170) |
|---|---|---|
| | - - - - - percent - - - - - | |
| White Collar | (84) | (96) |
| High Professional | 9 | 9 |
| Low Professional | 41 | 54 |
| Glamour | 10 | 6 |
| Managerial | 2 | 2 |
| Clerical and Sales | 22 | 25 |
| Blue Collar | (15) | (3) |
| Skilled | 11 | 2 |
| Operatives | 0 | 1 |
| Unskilled | 4 | 0 |
| Other | (1) | (1) |
| Housewife | 0 | 0 |
| No Information | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

$x^2 = 17.75$ d.f. = 5* $P > .001 < .01$

*The housewife and no information categories were dropped and the three blue-collar categories combined in calculations for the $x^2$ test.

Table 2. A Comparison of Rural and Urban Negro Girls' Occupational Goal-Levels

| Goal-Level | Respondents: Rural (N=99) | Respondents: Urban (N=170) |
|---|---|---|
| | - - - - - percent - - - - - | |
| High | 60 | 69 |
| Intermediate | 35 | 29 |
| Low | 5 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 1 | 1 |

To more clearly ascertain rural and urban differences in "level" of aspiration, the original occupational goal categories were collapsed into three broad goal-level classes - high, intermediate, and low.[24] The results of goal-level comparisons between the rural and urban respondents indicates that they did not differ greatly, Table 2. Substantial majorities of both groupings had high goal levels, and very few rural or urban girls had low goals. The only noteworthy difference between the two groupings was that proportionably more urban girls held high goals.

Expectations Compared to Goals

A comparison of the expectations held by rural and urban respondents produced results very similar to those noted in our goal analysis. The majority of both groupings anticipated attainment of white-collar jobs and, more particularly, high prestige positions, Table 3. And again, the major difference between the two was that urban girls anticipated attainment of low professional positions to a greater extent and blue-collar work to a much lesser extent than their rural counterparts.

The two groupings were also similar in the only noteworthy differences observed between aggregate goal and expectation profiles (Compare Tables 1 and 2). One such difference that stands out is that while none of the girls desired the housewife role, a small minority of both groupings anticipated it. Another observable difference, perhaps of greater significance, is that fewer girls anticipated attainment of white-collar jobs than desired them. These two findings indicate that, on an aggregate basis, there was a slight but observable pattern of deflection from white-collar goals to anticipation of housewife status and blue-collar work.

Table 3. A Comparison of Rural and Urban Negro Girls' Occupational Expectations

| Expectation | Respondents: Rural (N=99) | Respondents: Urban (N=170) |
|---|---|---|
| | - - - - - percent - - - - - | |
| White Collar | (75) | (89) |
| High Professional | 3 | 9 |
| Low Professional | 40 | 51 |
| Glamour | 6 | 3 |
| Managerial | 4 | 1 |
| Clerical and Sales | 22 | 25 |
| Blue Collar | (21) | (3) |
| Skilled | 16 | 1 |
| Operatives | 0 | 1 |
| Unskilled | 5 | 1 |
| Other | (4) | (8) |
| Housewife | 4 | 7 |
| No Information | 0 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

$x^2 = 31.94$ d.f. = 6* $P < .001$

*The no information category was dropped and the three blue-collar categories combined in calculations for the $x^2$ test.

Table 4. A Comparison of Differences in Goal-Levels and Expectation-Levels of Rural and Urban Negro Girls

| Goal-Level | Goal: Rural (N=99) | Goal: Urban (N=170) | Goal: Difference in R-U% | Expectation: Rural (N=99) | Expectation: Urban (N=170) | Expectation: Difference in R-U% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | - - - % - - - - | | | - - - % - - - - | | |
| High | 60 | 69 | (9) | 49 | 63 | (14) |
| Intermediate | 35 | 29 | (6) | 42 | 27 | (15) |
| Low | 5 | 2 | (3) | 9 | 10 | (1) |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | | 100 | 100 | |
| No Information | 1 | 1 | | 0 | 1 | |

Although the pattern of rural-urban differences existing for expectations appears similar in nature to those observed for goals, the differences in reference to expectations were greater. This observation is amplified when the original expectation categories are collapsed into the more inclusive ones corresponding to the goal-level categories used earlier.[25] This operation demonstrates that status level differences between rural and urban girls are markedly greater for expectations than goals, Table 4. While most respondents still anticipated attainment of high level occupations, markedly more urban than rural girls anticipated high level jobs. At the intermediate level, more rural girls anticipated such jobs than desired them; while slightly fewer urban girls anticipated than desired them. Both types, but particularly the urban, anticipated low level attainment more frequently than they desired it.

Anticipatory Deflection

Our results obtained from relating the aspiration and expectation of each individual respondent demonstrates that over 20 percent of both rural and urban girls had goals and expectations that differed, Table 5. The rural and urban respondents were similar in both the rate of deflection experienced and the predominantly negative direction of it. However, the rural girls did experience a slightly higher rate of total deflection, which is largely accounted for by a higher rate of negative deflection from goals.

We extended our analysis of anticipatory deflection by cross-classifying the deflection variable (none, positive, negative) by the original goal

Table 5. A Comparison Between Rural and Urban Negro Girls on Extent and Direction of Anticipatory Deflection From Occupational Goals

| Anticipatory Deflection | Rural (N=98) | Urban (N=169) |
|---|---|---|
| | - - - - - percent - - - - | |
| None (0) | 72 | 79 |
| Upward (+) | 8 | 7 |
| Downward (-) | 20 | 14 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |
| No Information | 1 | 1 |
| $x^2 = 2.14$ | d.f. = 2 | $P > .80 < .90$ |

Table 6. A Cross-Classification of Anticipatory Deflection by Rural-Urban Residence and Type of Occupational Goal

| Occupational Goal | Rural | | | | Urban | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | A.D. | | | | A.D. | | |
| | No. | (0) | (+) | (-) | No. | (0) | (+) | (-) |
| | | - - - - % - - - - | | | | - - - - % - - - - | | |
| High Professional | 9 | 22 | 00 | 78 | 16 | 87 | 00 | 13 |
| Low Professional | 40 | 80 | 00 | 20 | 92 | 87 | 2 | 11 |
| Glamour | 10 | 60 | 10 | 30 | 11 | 18 | 27 | 55 |
| Managerial | 2 | 50 | 50 | 00 | 4 | 50 | 00 | 50 |
| Clerical and Sales | 22 | 77 | 14 | 9 | 42 | 83 | 7 | 10 |
| Skilled | 11 | 91 | 9 | 00 | 3 | 33 | 67 | 00 |
| Operatives | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 1 | 100 | 00 | 00 |
| Unskilled | 4 | 75 | 25 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 |
| Total No. | 98 | 72 | 7 | 20 | 169 | 80 | 6 | 14 |
| No Information | 1 | | | | 1 | | | |

categories and rural-urban residence of respondents to see if we could obtain more specific rural-urban differences. The results were ambiguous - no structured pattern of differences in either extent or nature of deflection by goal categories could be observed, Table 6. However, one result of this operation is worth noting in light of our previous findings. The rural girls had an extremely high rate of negative deflection (78 percent) from high prestige professional goals, whereas, their urban counterparts had a very low rate. This specific difference would seem to explain most of the slight difference in the gross rates of anticipatory deflection, particularly negative deflection, observed between the two groupings.

Summary of Findings

Our results indicate that in general the occupational status orientations of the rural and urban Negro girls studied are very similar. No extreme differences were observed between the two groupings of respondents in reference to goals, expectations, or anticipatory deflection. In addition, the goal and expectation profiles were generally similar for both rural and urban girls. The vast majority of both aspired to and anticipated white-collar type jobs, and, what is more, high prestige positions of this type. The bulk of the girls desired and expected to attain professional positions of lower order prestige. Most of the remainder, about one-quarter in each case, desired and anticipated attaining sales and clerical type jobs. Few, and in some cases none, of either grouping held aspirations or expectations for becoming housewives, operatives, or

unskilled workers. Roughly the same proportions of rural and urban girls anticipated goal deflection. In both cases the deflection was predominantly negative in direction.

Goal and expectation profiles were observed to differ meaningfully in only two ways. More girls of both residence types desired high prestige white-collar jobs than anticipated attaining them, and the differences were notably greater for the rural girls. Also, while none of the girls desired the housewife role, a small minority of both groupings anticipated this role.

Within the context of the general similarities noted above, several meaningful rural-urban differences were observed. Proportionately fewer rural girls held high goal and expectation levels. Although the proportions are small, five times as many rural as urban girls aspired to blue-collar jobs, and a similar, but even greater, difference existed in reference to expectations. Generally the differences between the two residence groupings were greater in reference to expectations than for goals. Rural girls were observed to have a slightly higher rate of anticipatory deflection and a higher rate of negative deflection.

## Discussion

The findings reported here have a number of implications for sociological knowledge at several levels of abstraction and inclusiveness and for policy oriented toward social action and change. Of necessity we will have to explore these briefly.

## General Implications

Our results offer support for Merton's proposition that the achievement ethos prevailing in our society results in the inculcation of high success goals throughout the various levels of society, at least, with respect to occupational goals. Of special significance in this respect is the particular nature of the respondents we studied. Our respondents can be considered to have multiple disadvantages in reference to occupational mobility: they are female members of a racial minority generally held in low esteem and are located in economically deprived environments relative to the larger society. The fact that most of these girls aspired to and anticipated attaining high prestige white-collar positions, in spite of the multiple disadvantages inherent in their general status-set, makes it possible to predict with some assurance that they will generally experience a great deal of subsequent personal frustration and hostility toward society.[26] Using Merton's typology of adaptation developed in his theory of social structure and anomie, we would anticipate that few of these respondents will be "conformist" or "ritualistic" in their subsequent social adaptation.[27] To the contrary, we predict that the bulk of them will become "innovators" or "rebels" and some will "retreat" to the shelter of a euphoria based on booze, dope, sex, or the excitement of emotionally oriented religious cults and sects.[28] Some might judge our above remarks to be overly dramatic and pessimistic; however, our direct observation of the nature of the formal educational structures the respondents in our study were exposed to and the ensuing personal lacks, let alone other stigmas and impediments to social mobility they face, makes it impossible for us to draw a more favorable prognosis about the probable future of these respondents.

If our findings are generally valid, and what little prior research has been done supports their validity,[29] Negro youth located in the many severely depressed rural areas of the South and crowded urban ghettoes will provide a source of tension and strain in the society for some time to come.[30]

Another observation worthy of note was that none of the Negro girls desired to become housewives and few even anticipated this status. This finding may indicate that Negro girls are strongly and positively oriented toward full-time involvement in the labor force.[31] This would appear to be a realistic perception of the future considering the fact that many low-income Negro families are either fatherless or matriarchal in structure.[32]

## Rural-Urban Differences

While the significance of the striking similarities existing between rural and urban respondents over-shadows the differences observed, the latter have important implications. First of all, the fact that the rural girls had somewhat lower aspirations than their urban counterparts offers the first empirical support for extending the general applicability of Lipset's contention - that rural youth have lower aspirations than urban youth - to include Negro girls.[33] The finding of a similar but more extensive differential in reference to expectations,[34] and a correspondingly higher incidence of negative deflection experienced by rural girls, offers a new dimension to be incorporated into Lipset's explanation of the rural person's relatively disadvantaged position in the urban labor market.

The existence of a substantial number of blue-collar aspirants in rural areas would seem to imply a locally available and motivated potential labor pool for light industries contemplating rural locations. However, another analysis involving these same respondents indicated that most of them desire and intend to move to urban places.[35]

## Research Implications

The small and relatively homogeneous population studied and the limited information available from other studies restricts our ability to safely generalize beyond our study units. Obviously much more research on similar respondents and other types of populations will be required before any conclusive statements can be made.

The idea of "anticipatory deflection," the relationship of goals to expectations requires further elaboration and perhaps modification in future research. As our findings disclose, most goals are anticipated as well as desired; however, it is also conceivable that, when there is a difference between goals and expectations, the expectations may be desired to a greater or lesser extent. As far as we know this possibility has never been explored. While it is possible to determine from our analysis how many respondents had goals which they anticipated, our data does not permit us to determine whether or not expectations were desired. To overcome this problem it is suggested that in future research, status orientations be conceptualized and operationalized into three rather than two categories, as follows: (1) those involving both desire and anticipation; those involving desire without anticipation; and those involving anticipation without desire.

It is felt that the conceptual clarity gained will result in a more fruitful analysis of status orientations and allow for more explicit linkages with existing theory.

## Policy Implications

The unrealistically high occupational goals and expectations generally maintained by Negro youth, as evidenced in this and other studies, indicates a need for some modification in the culturally patterned inculcation of high job goals.[36] There seems little reason to point great numbers of youth toward occupational levels that can be attained by only a small number. This statement becomes increasingly relevant as the population under consideration becomes increasingly disadvantaged. What can be done? There is a need for a much wider dissemination of objective occupational information, and a more effective system of personalized guidance and counselling. Strong programs of these types, linked with a general improvement of Negro educational and occupational opportunities, could result in a more rational combination of desires, abilities, and opportunities. Subsequent reduction of culturally induced personal frustration, hostility, and, perhaps, even individual and collective rebellious behavior might then be expected.[37]

In order to develop a factual basis for creating programs of the type mentioned above, we need more in depth research and longitudinally designed experimental studies to ascertain how aspirations and expectations can be altered and, just as important, to determine how such changes influence the well-being of the individuals and social systems involved.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (rev. ed.), Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957, pp. 134-141 and pp. 166-176. For a careful consideration of the significance high success has for social and psychological adaptation, see Chapters 4 and 5 of this book.

[2]This generalization appears to be valid for all types of youth - rural-urban, male-female, various age groupings, and respondents evolving from different social strata. For evidence of this assertion as it applies to occupational goals, see the set of annotations of prior research included in the following report: William F. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Structured Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature, College Station: Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Technical Report 66-7, September, 1966. Other compilations of such evidence exist in the following: Gottlieb and Reeves, Adolescent Behavior in Urban Areas, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963, and R. B. Jacobsen, et. al., The Family and Occupational Choice: An Annotated Bibliography, Eugene: University of Oregon, Center for Research in Occupational Planning, 1966.

[3]Most past studies have found that the majority of all types of adolescents select professional positions as goals. For a detailed discussion of this point, see Lee G. Burchinal, et. al., Career Choices of Rural Youth in a Changing Society, Minneapolis: Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, NCRP 142, 1962, p. 24.

[4]Substantial evidence exists to indicate that the following variables are associated with differences in occupational goals: socio-economic status, father's occupation, parents' education, peer relationships, a host of structural aspects involved in the family and school situations, a number of different personality variables, and place of residence. See footnote 2 above for citations of sources providing evidence of this.

[5]Seymour M. Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization," Rural Sociology, 20 (September, 1955), pp. 220-228. For a recent review of research giving evidence that rural and small-town migrants are relatively disadvantaged in occupational mobility as compared with native urbanites, see William H. Sewell and Alan M. Orenstein, "Community of Residence and Occupational Choice," The American Journal of Sociology, 70 (March, 1965), pp. 551-563.

[6]For evidence see the extensive review of past research presented in Kuvlesky and Pelham, op. cit. Another rather extensive review of this research is provided in Sewell and Orenstein, op. cit. We know of two studies that have reported conclusions in contradiction to Lipset's hypothesis: Archie O. Haller and William H. Sewell, "Farm Residence and Levels

of Educational and Occupational Aspiration," The American Journal of Sociology, 62 (January, 1957), pp. 407-411 and Middleton and Grigg, "Rural-Urban Differences in Aspirations," Rural Sociology, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 347-354. The exceptional nature of the findings from both studies can probably be explained in terms of techniques of indicating "goal-levels" and procedures utilized in sampling, analysis, or measurement.

[7] The almost universal focus on white respondents is probably explained by the fact that most studies concerned with establishing rural and urban differences have been done in the mid-west, or at least the North, where there are few rural Negroes.

[8] Middleton and Grigg, op. cit.

[9] This study was designed to provide information on mobility orientations of youth living in low-income areas and is part of a larger regional study of the South being carried out in cooperation with a number of state agricultural experiment stations and the Cooperative State Research Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture (Regional Project No. S-61).

[10] William P. Kuvlesky and George W. Ohlendorf, "Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys: A Rural-Urban Comparison." Paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society meetings, Miami Beach, August, 1966. Copies of this paper are available on request.

[11] We have been using the terms "occupational status orientation" or "occupational orientation" to include both aspiration and expectation because researchers have not always maintained a clear distinction between these two ideas. For a discussion of this conceptual problem and its research implications, see William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice,'" Rural Sociology, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-276.

[12] One directly relevant example of confusion or misinterpretation of findings evolving from a failure to make this distinction is the Middleton and Grigg conclusion cited previously, that rural and urban Negro youth do not differ in their occupational aspirations. A careful inspection of their instruments demonstrates that these researchers had actually procured responses indicating expectations and not aspirations as they imply. The stimulus question used by Middleton and Grigg was, "In what occupation do you think that you will most likely be working ten years from now?" op. cit., p. 349. For a thorough critique of this effort, see Kuvlesky and Pelham, op. cit.

[13] For a review of these studies, see Kuvlesky and Bealer, op. cit.

[14] This proposition is thoroughly discussed in Kuvlesky and Pelham, op. cit. In addition, the utility of this relational element, "anticipatory deflection," has been demonstrated in our recent paper comparing rural and urban Negro boys, Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, op. cit.

[15] See footnote 12 above.

[16]In a recent study of youth from low-income rural areas of Florida, it was found that 65 percent of the Negro girls desired professional employment. E. Grant Youmans, et. al., After High School What?: Highlights of a Study of Career Plans of Negro and White Rural Youth in Three Florida Counties, Gainesville: University of Florida, Cooperative Extension Service, 1965. In an earlier study of youth from low-income neighborhoods in an up-state New York City of 50,000, it was found that 40 percent of the Negro girls had aspirations for professional, executive, and semi-professional positions: Antonovsky and Lerner, "Occupational Aspirations of Lower Class Negro and White Youth," Social Problems, 7 (Fall, 1959), pp. 132-138. The Niddleton and Grigg study, cited previously, indicated that rural Negro girls have higher level aspirations than the urban.

[17]The New York study mentioned above indicates that one-third of the Negro girls with high aspirations experienced anticipatory deflection: Antonovsky and Lerner, op. cit. In another study including a range of socio-economic levels, it was found that about one-fourth of the urban Negro girls involved (who aspired above their parents' occupational level) indicated differences between their aspirations and expectations: Jetse Sprey, "Sex Differences in Occupational Choice Patterns Among Negro Adolescents," Social Problems, 10 (Summer, 1962), pp. 11-22. On the other hand, another study involving urban Negro girls in the middle socio-economic strata reported considerable uniformity between aspirations and expectations - presumably indicating a low rate of anticipatory deflection: N. P. Gist and W. S. Bennett, Jr., "Aspirations of Negro and White Students," Social Forces, 42 (October, 1963), pp. 40-48.

[18]Nunalee and Drabick observed high rates of anticipatory deflection for their Negro female respondents residing in nonmetropolitan areas. They found that 44 percent of their Negro girls altered their expectations as compared with their goals, op. cit., pp. 11 and 12.

[19]The four studies giving evidence that urban girls have higher occupational levels than their rural counterparts are Grigg and Middleton, "Community of Orientation and Occupational Aspirations of Ninth-Grade Students," Social Forces, 38 (May, 1960), pp. 303-308. Rhodes, "Anomia, Aspiration and Status," Social Forces, 42 (May, 1964), pp. 434-440. Sewell and Orenstein, op. cit. and L. B. Siemens, The Influence of Selected Family Factors on the Educational and Occupational Aspiration Levels of High School Boys and Girls, Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba, June, 1965. The one study indicating a lack of rural-urban differences between white girls is the previously cited Florida study by Middleton and Grigg, op. cit.

[20]For a relatively complete survey and critical evaluation of rural-urban differences in occupational orientations of adolescents, see Kuvlesky and Pelham, op. cit.

[21]All sophomores present the day of the interview particpated--no attempt was made to contact any who were absent. The respondents came from 23 different high schools of which only one had experienced more

than "token" integration. The size of the sophomore classes in these schools ranged from 5 to 70 students. Of the 13 all-Negro schools contacted, all had fewer than 30 sophomores and more than half had less than 20. These counties were all-rural and nonmetropolitan, according to 1960 Census. United States Census of Population, 1960, Volume 1, Part 45 - Texas.

[22]This method of measurement was selected because it has been widely used in other studies of this general problem and would facilitate comparison of findings. In addition, the use of qualitative categories permits observations pertaining to differences in the nature of occupational status orientations that are not possible when the responses are transformed into occupational prestige levels--another method of measurement used in some past studies. Several modifications were made in the Census scheme (Classified Index of Occupations and Industries, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1960). Because the bulk of responses fell into the professional-technical-kindred category, this broad class was divided into three more specific categories--high professional, low professional, and glamour. This operation made it possible to note differences among high level goal categories that otherwise would have been missed. In addition, these finer categories made it possible to detect anticipatory deflection occurring among relatively high goal and expectation levels. "High professional" consists of those occupations that normally require degrees beyond the B.S. or B.A. (doctor, college professor, lawyer, etc.)--these generally have North-Hatt occupational prestige scores of 80 or higher. The "glamour" category consists of those occupations having a glamorous connotation and usually coded as professional--pop singer, band leader, and professional sports. The "low professional" constitutes a residual category which includes all other professional, technical, and kindred occupations--it was found that most of these have North-Hatt prestige scores ranging from 70 to 79. Several other modifications were made in the Census scheme. The usual clerical, sales and service categories were collapsed into one. The farm owner and manager responses were included with the managerial class because few respondents indicated these as either a goal or expectation. Enlisted military and law enforcement responses were classified as operatives and skilled labor, respectively - the Census classifies these jobs as craftsmen and operatives, respectively.

[23]As an example, if a respondent had indicated doctor (1) as a goal and janitor (8) as an expectation she was scored (1-8) as having experienced negative anticipatory deflection.

[24]The high level class consists of high and low professional and glamour categories. Operatives and unskilled were combined to form the low level class. The remainder of the categories were combined into the intermediate class. Although one can argue, with some justification, that the managerial class should be included in the high level and/or that the clerical category should be included in the low level, it was

our decision to be conservative in reference to the formation of the polar opposite goal-levels. At any rate we consider the use of three goal-level categories to be an improvement upon the more frequently used dichotomous schemes of blue-collar and white-collar or professional and other. For an example of the use of the former, see Middleton and Grigg, op. cit. and in reference to the latter, see Sewell and Orenstein, op. cit.

[25]The details of this operation are spelled out in footnote 24 above. However, in this cast housewife also was placed in the "low" category.

[26]This prediction appears safe assuming the following: occupational goals are of particular importance to these respondents, that there will be no drastic revision in their ultimate goals, no tremendous increase in the number of high prestige positions available, and no marked change in their disadvantaged position in the labor market. We are not optimistic about the probabilities for such dramatic changes, and, we are not alone in this respect. Most of the literature on this subject displays pessimism in evaluating prospects for the short-term amelioration. Such an attitude seems to be justified. Amelioration would require extensive changes in the status orientation levels of Negroes or a dramatic reduction of barriers to mobility. Any such change would involve great costs--social, economic, and psychic--and a prolonged period of time. Eli Ginzberg, in a generally optimistic presentation, cautions that changes in the institutionalized patterns impeding Negro mobility will require a long period of time. The Negro Potential, New York: Columbia University Press, 1956, pp. 137-138. For other evaluations, see Broom and Glenn, op. cit., Chapter 9, C. Franklin Edwards, "Community and Class Realities: The Ordeal of Change," Daedalus, 2 (Winter, 1966), pp. 1-23, and Oscar Handlin, "The Goals of Integration," ibid., pp. 268-286.

[27]Merton, op. cit., Chapters 4 and 5 and particularly pp. 140-157.

[28]Ibid.

[29]See footnotes 16 and 19 above for sources providing evidence.

[30]See footnote 27 above for an indication of others who support this general contention.

[31]Findings from a recent Florida study on a similar rural population are identical to ours in this respect, lending credence to the possible general validity of this proposition: Youmans, op. cit.

[32]We do not mean to imply that all Negro families have these characteristics. Obviously, "middle class" Negro families would constitute a general exception. For a review of research and a good statement on this subject, see Broom and Glenn, op. cit., pp. 17-21.

[33]Lipset, op. cit. Our findings contradict the conclusions reached by Middleton and Grigg on the only other reported comparison of rural and urban Negro girls: op. cit.

[34]This finding directly contradicts the Middleton and Grigg findings. We interpret their reported data to indicate a lack of rural-urban differences in job expectations held by Negro girls. One possible explanation for this inconsistency is that they relied solely on a dichotomous classification of responses into white-collar and blue-collar categories. Using a similar gross measure on our data would produce the same results (See Table 2).

[35]William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, "Community of Residence Aspirations and Expectations: Implications for Action." Paper presented at the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers meetings in New Orleans, January 31, 1967.

[36]We say this even though we know that a direct attempt to generally lower goal and expectation levels is not likely to occur in our achievement oriented society.

[37]Recently a number of social scientists have proposed that a partial explanation for the recent rash of hostile collective actions on the part of young Negroes have been frustration of socio-economic aspirations and expectations. See among others, Broom and Glenn, op. cit., pp. 172-186 and John W. Dyckman, "Some Conditions of Civic Order in an Urbanized World," Daedalus (Summer, 1966), pp. 802-803.

# APPENDIX A

## Goal Instrument

If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you most desire as a lifetime kind of work? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work on the railroad" but tell us what railroad job you would like to have.) Write your answer in the box below.

ANSWER: _____

Please circle the one type of work listed below that best describes the job you most desire. (Circle one number.)

## Types of Work

11 Farm or ranch owner or manager
(If you desire to be a farm or ranch owner or manager indicate the size of farm or ranch you want to operate by placing the number of acres desired in the following blank: _____.)

21 Farm Laborer, worker, or migrant worker

22 Laborer - gardener, maid, janitor, waitress, etc.

31 Skilled trade, craft, or work such as beautician, electrician, plumber, barber, machinist, foreman, practical nurse, etc.

41 Machine operator - truck driver, factory production worker, lathe operator, etc.

51 Owner, manager, or official of company, business, or government office

61 Sales work - clerk in a store, door-to-door salesman, traveling salesman

62 Clerical work - office clerk, bank teller, cashier, secretary, stock clerk

Military Service
42 Enlisted man
71 Officer

72 Professional or technical worker such as doctor, lawyer, teacher, scientist, draftsman, accountant, etc.

81 Entertainer or Professional Sports - pro football, pop singer, actor, etc.

91 Other (What? _____)

## Expectation Instrument

What kind of job do you <u>really expect</u> to have most of your life? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an <u>exact</u> job!)

ANSWER: _____

Please circle the one type of work listed below that best describes the job you <u>really expect</u> to have most of your life. (Circle one number.)

### Types of Work

11 <u>Farm or ranch owner or manager</u>
(If you expect to be a farm or ranch owner or manager indicate the size of farm or ranch you expect to operate by placing the number of acres in the following blank: _____.)

21 <u>Farm Laborer</u>, worker, or migrant worker

22 <u>Laborer</u> - gardener, maid, janitor, waitress, etc.

31 <u>Skilled trade, craft, or work</u> such as beautician, electrician, plumber, barber, machinist, foreman, practical nurse, etc.

41 <u>Machine operator</u> - truck driver, factory production worker, lathe operator, etc.

51 <u>Owner, manager, or official</u> of company, business, or government office

61 <u>Sales work</u> - clerk in a store, door-to-door salesman, traveling salesman

62 <u>Clerical work</u> - office clerk, bank teller, cashier, secretary, stock clerk

<u>Military Service</u>
42 Enlisted man
71 Officer

72 <u>Professional or technical worker</u> such as doctor, lawyer, teacher, scientist, draftsman, accountant, etc.

81 <u>Entertainer or Professional Sports</u> - pro football, pop singer, actor, etc.

91 <u>Other</u> (What? _____)